# PROTOCOL #12

### Of the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion

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From the 1922 Edition:

THE PROTOCOLS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION

The Worldwide Secret Conspiracy

Printed and Published in Berlin

#### **PREFACE**

Below is an English translation from the Russian text of Protocol TWELVE. This particular edition of the Protocols is based upon the text by S. A. Nilus. Though the text is close to his original version of the Protocols by Nilus' EDITION of 1905, this 1922 version does have some variant readings. Most of the variants are very minor and do not change the meaning of the text, but there are some places where there are some omissions and some additions. I have carefully compared both texts and made footnotes showing where there are significant variant readings.

There are some different versions of the Protocols that were published. Here are the following:

**1903:** Publication of original Protocols in 'Znamia' ('The Banner') by Pavlov Krushevan in a series of seven installments beginning in September.

**1904:** Partial republication in the third edition of Ljutostansky's 'Talmud I everi' (cleared for publication by censor on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November 1903), this includes the first suggestion of a link to Zionism.

**1905:** Sergei Nilus publishes a longer and heavily-edited version of the Protocols as an appendix to his book about the coming of the Anti-Christ: 'Velikoe v Malom' ('The Great in the Small') in addition to three anonymous editions which are shorter than Krushevan's original that date from this time. Introduction of Freemasonry into and the removal of Old Testament references from the text.

**1906:** Georgi Butmi de Kacman publishes a different version of the Protocols as an appendix to the third edition of his book 'Vragi Roda Chevlovecheskago' ('Enemies of the Human Race') (preface is dated 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1905).

**1907:** Georgi Butmi de Kacman publishes a slightly re-edited version of the Protocols as an appendix to the fourth edition of his book 'Vragi Roda Chevlovecheskago' ('Enemies of the Human Race').

**1911:** Sergei Nilus re-publishes his book 'Velikoe v Malom' ('The Great in the Small') in a second edition: no substantial change to the Protocols text.

**1912:** Sergei Nilus re-publishes his book 'Velikoe v Malom' ('The Great in the Small') in a third edition: no substantial change to the Protocols text.

**1917:** Sergei Nilus re-publishes his book 'Velikoe v Malom' ('The Great in the Small') in a fourth edition: a substantial change to the Protocols text and the beginning of the attribution of the Protocols to Theodor Herzl.

#### **PROTOCOL 12**

### THE MASONIC INTERPRETATION OF THE WORD "FREEDOM".

**12:1** We define the word "freedom", which can be interpreted in many ways, as follows:

12:2 freedom is the right to do what the law allows. Such an interpretation of this word will serve us at that time that all freedom will be in our hands, because laws will only destroy or create what we want according to the above program.

### THE FUTURE OF THE PRESS IN THE MASONIC KINGDOM.

12:3 We will deal with the press in the following way. What role does the press play now? It serves the fervor of our desired passions or selfish interests. It can be empty, unfair, deceitful, and most people don't understand at all what it serves. We will harness it and take it into our strong grips; we will do the same with the rest of the press, for what is the point of getting rid of the attacks of the press if we remain a target for the pamphlets and the books. We will turn the now expensive product of publicity, expensive because of the need to censor it, into a profitable item for our government. We will impose a special stamp tax and deposits on the establishment of a press or printing house, which will secure our government against any attacks from the press. For, if possible, that we are attacked, we will severely fine them. Measures such as stamps, bonds and fines secured by those means will bring enormous revenue to the government. It is true that the partisan newspapers could spare no money, but we will shut them down the second time we are attacked. No one will touch the aura of our government infallibility with immunity. The pretext for the termination of the publication will be that the publication in question troubles the minds without reason and basis. Please note that among those who attack us will be our own organized authorities, but they will attack only the items we intend to change.

#### CONTROL OF THE PRESS.

**12:4** Not one notification will penetrate into society without our control. This is already

МАСОНСКОЕ ТОЛКОВАНІЕ СЛОВА «СВОБОДА». Слово «свобода», которое можно толковать разнообразно, мы опредъляемъ такъ: свобода есть право дълать то, что позволяетъ законъ.

Подобное толкованіе этого сло,ва въ то время послужить намъ къ тому, что вся свобода окажется въ нашихъ рукахъ, потому что законы будутъ только разрушать или созидать желательное намъ по вышеизложенной программъ.

#### БУДУЩЕЕ ПРЕССЫ ВЪ МАСОНСКОМЪ ЦАРСТВѢ.

Съ прессой мы поступимъ слъдующимъ образомъ. Какую роль играеть теперь пресса. Она служить пылкому разгоранію нужныхъ намъ страстей или же эгоистичнымъ партійностямъ. Она бываетъ пуста, несправедлива, лжива, большинство людей не понимаеть вовсе, чему она служить. Мы ее осъдлаемъ и возьмемъ въ кръпкія возжи; то же сдълаемъ и съ остальной печатью, ибо какой смыслъ намъ избавляться отъ нападокъ прессы, если мы остаемся мишенью для брошюры и книги. Мы превратимъ нынъ дорого стоющій продуктъ гласности, дорогой благодаря необходимости его цензуры, въ доходную статью для нашего государства. Мы ее обложимъ особымъ марочнымъ налогомъ и взносами залоговъ при учрежденіи органовъ печати или типографіи, которые должны будуть гарантировать наше правительство отъ всякихъ нападеній со стороны прессы. За возможное нападеніе мы будемъ штрафовать безпощадно. Такія мъры, какъ марки, залоги и штрафы ими обезпеченные принесуть огромный доходъ правительству. Правда, партійныя газеты могли бы не пожальть денегь, но мы ихъ будемъ закрывать по второму нападенію на насъ. Никто безнаказанно не будеть касаться ореола нашей правительственной непогръшимости. Предлогъ для прекращенія изданія — закрываемый — де, органъ волнуетъ умы безъ повода и основанія. Прошу васъ замътить, что среди нападающихъ на насъ будуть и нами учрежденные органы, но они будуть нападать исключительно на пункты, предназначенные нами къ измѣненію.

#### КОНТРОЛЬ НАДЪ ПРЕССОЙ.

Ни одно оповъщеніе не будетъ проникать въ общество безъ нашего контроля. Это и теперь уже достигается нами тъмъ, что всъ новости получаются

achieved by the fact that all information is received by several agencies, where it is centralized from all over the world.

#### REPORTING AGENCIES.

These agencies will then be entirely our institutions and will only publicize what we instruct them to do.

12:5 If now we have succeeded in controlling the minds of goyim societies to the extent that all of them almost look at world events through the colored glasses we put on their eyes, if now there are no locks for us in any state, what will happen when we are recognized as rulers of the world in the person of our universal king?

**12:6** Let us return to the future of printing. Every person who wishes to be a publisher, librarian or printer will have to obtain a diploma, which will be immediately taken away in case of misconduct.

### WHAT IS PROGRESS IN THE UNDERSTANDING OF MASONRY.

\*When such measures are implemented, the weapon of thinking will become an educational tool in the hands of our government, which will no longer allow the mass of people to get lost in the maze and dreams of the benefits of progress. Who among us does not know that these phantom favors are direct roads to ridiculous dreams, which gave birth to anarchic relations of people among themselves and to power, because progress, or better to say the idea of progress, has led to the idea of all kinds of liberation without setting \*boundaries.

All so-called liberals are anarchists, if not in action, then in thought. Each of them chases the ghosts of freedom, falling entirely into self-will, i.e. into the anarchy of protest for protest's sake.

#### MORE ABOUT THE PRESS.

12:7 Let's move on to the press. Like all printing, we will impose stamp fees per sheet and bonds on it, and books with less than 30 sheets will be doubled in price. We will put them in the category of pamphlets in order, on the one hand, to reduce

нъсколькими агенствами, въ которыхъ онъ централизуются со всъхъ концовъ свъта.

#### КОРРЕСПОНДЕНТСКІЯ АГЕНТСТВА.

Эти агентства будутъ тогда уже всецъло нашими учрежденіями и будутъ оглашать только то, что мы имъ предпишемъ.

Если теперь мы сумѣли овладѣть умами гоевскихъ обществъ до той степени, что всѣ они почти смотрятъ на міровыя событія сквозь цвѣтныя стекла тѣхъ очковъ, которыя мы имъ надѣваемъ на глаза, если теперь для насъ ни въ одномъ государствѣ не существуетъ запоровъ, преграждающихъ намъ доступъ къ, такъ называемымъ, гоевской глупостью, государственнымъ тайнамъ, то что же будетъ тогда, когда мы будемъ признанными владыками міра въ лицѣ нашего всемірнаго царя.

Вернемся къ будущности печати. Каждый пожелавшій быть издателемъ, библіотекаремъ или типографщикомъ, будетъ вынужденъ добыть на это дъло установленный дипломъ, который, въ случаѣ провинности, немедленно будетъ отобранъ.

#### ЧТО ТАКОЕ ПРОГРЕССЪ ВЪ ПОНЯТІЯХЪ МАСОНСТВА.

При выполненіи такихъ мѣръ оружіе мысли станетъ воспитательнымъ средствомъ въ рукахъ нашего правительства, которое уже не допуститъ народную массу заблуждаться въ дебряхъ и мечтахъ о благодѣяніяхъ прогресса. Кто изъ насъ не знаетъ, что эти призрачныя благодѣянія — прямыя дороги къ нелѣпымъ мечтаніямъ, отъ которыхъ родились анархическія отношенія людей между собой и къ власти, потому что прогрессъ, или лучше сказать идея прогресса, навела на мысль о всякаго рода эмансипаціи, не установивъ границъ.

Всѣ такъ называемые, либералы суть анархисты, если не дѣла, то мысли. Каждый изъ нихъ гоняется за призраками свободы, впадая исключительно въ своеволіе, т. е. въ анархію протеста ради протеста.

#### ЕЩЕ О ПРЕССЪ.

Перейдемъ къ прессъ. Мы ее обложимъ, какъ и всю печать, марочными сборами съ листа —и залогами, а книги, имъющія меньше 30 листовъ — въ двойномъ размъръ. Мы ихъ запишемъ въ разрядъ брошюръ, чтобы, съ одной стороны, сократить число журналовъ, которые собой представляютъ худшій печатный ядъ, а съ другой, эта мъра вынудитъ

the number of magazines, which are the worst printed poison, and on the other hand, this measure will force writers to produce such long works that they will barely be read, especially when they are expensive. What we ourselves will publish, for the advantage of guiding the way of thinking in the direction we have chosen, will be cheap and will be read in great quantities. Taxation will suppress the urge to publish nonessential literature, while punishment will make the writers dependent upon us. If there are those who want to write against us. there will be no one willing to print their works. Before accepting any work for printing, a publisher or printer must go to the authorities to ask for permission to do so. In this way, we will know in advance the plans that are being prepared against us, and we will defeat them by preparing ahead of time with explanations on the topic at hand.

- 12:8 Literature and journalism are the two most important educational forces, which is why our government will become the owner of most magazines. This will minimize the harmful influence of the private press and acquire a tremendous influence on the minds...
- 12:8 If we authorize ten magazines, we ourselves will establish thirty, and so on in the same way. But this should not at all be suspected in the public, which is why all the magazines published by us will be of the most antagonistic, in appearance, directions and opinions, which will excite confidence in them and attract to them our unsuspecting opponents, who will thus fall into our trap and be neutralized.
- **12:9** Official authorities will take center stage. They will always stand guard over our interests, and therefore their influence will be comparatively insignificant.
- **12:10** On the second place will be official organizations, whose role will be to attract indifferent lukewarm people.
- 12:11 In the third place, we will put our opposition, which, at least in one of its elements, will represent, as it were, our antithesis. Our real opponents in their hearts will take this seeming opposition as their own and open their cards to us.

писателей къ такимъ длиннымъ произведеніямъ, что ихъ будутъ мало читать, особенно при дороговизнъ. То же, что мы будемъ издавать сами на пользу умственнаго направленія въ намѣченную нами сторону, будеть дешево и будеть читаться на расхватъ. Налогъ угомонить пустое литературное влеченіе, а наказуемость поставить литераторовь въ зависимость отъ насъ. Если найдутся желающіе писать противъ насъ, то не найдется охотниковъ печатать ихъ произведенія. Прежде чѣмъ принять для печати какое нибудь произведеніе, издатель или типографщикъ долженъ придти ко властямъ просить разръшенія на это. Такимъ образомъ, намъ заранье будуть извъстны готовящіяся противъ насъ козни, и мы ихъ разобьемъ, забъжавъ напередъ съ объясненіями на трактуемую тему.

Литература и журналистика — двъ важнъйшія воспитательныя силы, вотъ почему наше правительство сдълается собственникомъ большинства журналовъ. Этимъ будетъ нейтрализовано вредное вліяніе частной прессы и пріобрътается громадное вліяніе на умы...

Если мы разрѣшимъ десять журналовъ, то сами учредимъ тридцать и такъ далѣе въ томъ же родѣ. Но этого отнюдь не должно подозрѣвать въ публикѣ, почему и всѣ издаваемые нами журналы будутъ самыхъ противотивоположныхъ, по внѣшности, направленій и мнѣній, что возбудитъ къ нимъ довѣріе и привлечетъ къ нимъ нашихъ, ничего не подозрѣвающихъ, противниковъ, которые, такимъ образомъ, попадутся въ нашу западню и будутъ обезврежены.

На первомъ планѣ поставятся органы оффиціальнаго характера. Они будутъ всегда стоять на стражѣ нашихъ интересовъ, и потому ихъ вліяніе сравнительно будетъ ничтожно.

На второмъ — станутъ оффиціозы, роль которыхъ будетъ заключаться въ привлеченіи равнодушныхъ тепленькихъ.

На третьемъ—мы поставимъ нашу оппозицію, которая хотя бы въ одномъ изъ своихъ органовъ будетъ представлять собой, какъ бы нашъ антиподъ. Наши дъйствительные противники въ душъ примутъ эту кажущуюся оппозицію за своихъ и откроютъ намъ свои карты.

12:12 All of our newspapers will be of all kinds: aristocratic, republican, revolutionary, even anarchist, as long as the constitution is still in force... They will, like the Hindu god "Vishnu", have a hundred arms, each of which will take the pulse of any public opinion. When the pulse increases, then these hands will lead the opinion in the direction of our goal, because an agitated subject loses judgment and is easily suggestible. Those fools who think they are repeating the opinion of their own party's newspaper will be repeating our opinion, or the one we wish. Imagining that they are following the banner of their party, they will follow the flag we put up for them.

12:13 In order to guide our newspaper militias in this sense, we must organize this matter extra carefully. Under the name of the central branch of the press, we will establish literary gatherings in which our agents will discreetly give the password and signals. By discussing and opposing our endeavors always superficially, without touching their essence, our authorities will engage in an empty skirmish with the official newspapers only to give us an excuse to express ourselves in more detail than we could have done in our initial official statements. Of course, when it is advantageous for us.

12:14 Attacks on us will also play the role of reassuring our subjects of the complete freedom of free speech, and it will give our agents an excuse to claim that the authorities opposing us are just talking nonsense, since they cannot find any real reason to substantially refute our orders.

12:15 Such measures, which are not visible to the public, but are the right ones, will most successfully lead public opinion and trust in the direction of our government. Thanks to them, we will stir up and calm minds in political matters \*as needed, persuade or confuse by printing truth or falsehood, data or its rebuttals, depending on whether they are well or poorly received, always measuring the ground carefully before setting foot

Всъ наши газеты будуть всевозможныхъ направленій: республиканскаго, аристократическаго, революціоннаго, анархическаго, даже конечно, будеть жить конституція... Они, какъ индійскій божокъ «Вишну», будуть имѣть сто рукъ, изъ которыхъ каждая будеть щупать пульсъ у любого изъ общественнаго мнѣнія. Когда пульсъ ускорится, тогда руки эти поведутъ мнѣніе по направленію къ нашей цъли, ибо разволновавшійся субъектъ теряеть разсудительность и легко поддается внушенію. Тъ дураки, которые будуть думать, что повторяютъ мнѣніе газеты своего лагеря, будутъ повторять наше мнѣніе, или то, которое намъ желательно. Воображая, что они слъдуютъ за органомъ своей партіи, они пойдуть за тьмъ флагомъ, который мы вывъсимъ для нихъ.

Чтобы направлять въ этомъ смыслѣ наши газетныя милиціи, мы должны особенно тщательно организовать это дѣло. Подъ названіемъ центральнаго отдѣленія печати, мы учредимъ литературныя собранія, въ которыхъ наши агенты будуть незамьтно давать пароль и сигналы. Обсуждая и противоръча нашимъ начинаніямъ всегда поверхностно, не затрагивая существа ихъ, наши органы будуть вести пустую перестрълку съ оффиціальными газетами для того только, чтобы дать намъ поводъ высказаться болье подробно, чьмь мы могли бы это сдьлать въ первоначальныхъ оффиціальныхъ заявленіяхъ. Конечно, когда это для насъ будетъ выгодно.

Нападки на насъ сыграютъ еще и ту роль, что подданные будутъ увърены въ полной свободъ свободоговоренія, а нашимъ агентамъ это дастъ поводъ утверждать, что выступающіе противъ насъ органы пустословятъ, такъ какъ не могутъ найти настоящихъ поводовъ къ существенному опроверженію нашихъ распоряженій.

Такія, незамѣтныя для общественнаго вниманія, но вѣрныя мѣропріятія всего успѣшнѣе поведуть общественное мнѣніе и довѣріе въ сторону нашего правительства. Благодаря имъ мы будемъ по мѣрѣ надобности возбуждать и успокаивать умы въ политическихъ вопросахъ, убѣждать или сбивать съ толку, печатая то правду, то ложь, данныя или ихъ опроверженія, смотря потому, хорошо или дурно они приняты, всегда осторожно ощупывая почву, прежде чѣмъ на нее ступить... Мы будемъ побѣждать нашихъ противниковъ навѣрняка, такъ какъ у нихъ не будетъ въ распоряженіи органовъ печати, въ которыхъ они могли бы высказаться до

on it.... We will surely defeat our opponents, as they will not have at their disposal the press authorities in which they can express themselves to the full extent as a result of the above-mentioned measures\*. We will not even need to refute them to the letter.....

**12:16** If necessary, we will vigorously refute the criteria that we have set in the third category of our press in the official organizations.

### MASONIC SOLIDARITY IN THE MODERN PRESS

12:17 Even today, at least in the forms of French journalism, there is already a Masonic unity in the catchphrase; all agencies of the press are bound together by professional secrecy; like the \*augurs, no member of the press will give away the secret of his information unless it is decreed that it should be publicized. No journalist would dare to betray this secret, for no journalist is allowed to enter literature without having a disgraceful wound in his past. These wounds would have been immediately exposed. As long as these wounds are the secret of a few, the aura of the journalist attracts the opinion of the majority of the country and is followed with enthusiasm.

## FERVOR OF PROVINCIAL "PUBLIC" DEMANDS.

12:18 Our calculations extend especially to the provinces. In it we need to stir up those hopes and desires in which we could always attack the capital, passing them off to the capitals as independent hopes and desires of the provinces. It is clear that their source will still be the same - ours. We need that sometimes, while we are not yet in full power, the capitals should be enveloped in the provincial opinion of the people, i.e. of the majority, set up by our agents. We need the capitals, at a psychological moment, not to have to discuss the accomplished fact simply because it was accepted by the opinion of the provincial majority.

#### THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE NEW REGIME.

12:19 When we are in the period of a new regime, transitional to our enthronement, we must not allow the press to expose public dishonesty; it must be thought that the new regime has satisfied everyone so much that even crime has withered

конца, вслъдствіе вышесказанныхъ мъропріятій. Намъ не нужно будетъ даже опровергать ихъ до основанія...

Пробные камни, брошенные нами въ третьемъ разрядъ нашей прессы, въ случаъ надобности, мы будемъ энергично опровергать въ оффиціозъ.

#### МАСОНСКАЯ СОЛИДАРНОСТЬ ВЪ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ ПРЕССЪ.

Уже нынѣ въ формахъ хотя бы французской журналистики существуетъ масонская солидарность въ паролѣ; всѣ органы печати связаны между собой профессіональной тайной; подобно авгурамъ, ни одинъ членъ ея не выдастъ тайны своихъ свѣдѣній, если не постановлено ихъ оповѣстить. Ни одинъ журналистъ не рѣшится предать этой тайны, ибо ни одинъ изъ нихъ не допускается въ литературу безъ того, чтобы все прошлое его не имѣло бы какой нибудь постыдной раны. Эти раны были бы тотчасъ же раскрыты. Пока эти раны составляютъ тайну немногихъ, ореолъ журналиста привлекаетъ, мнѣніе большинства страны — за нимъ шествуютъ съ восторгомъ.

### ВОЗБУЖДЕНІЕ ПРОВИНЦІАЛЬНЫХЪ «ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫХЪ» ТРЕБОВАНІЙ.

Наши разсчеты особенно простираются на провинцію. Въ ней намъ необходимо возбудить тъ упованія и стремленія, съ которыми мы всегда могли бы обрушиться на столицу, выдавая ихъ столицамъ за самостоятельныя упованія и стремленія провинціи. Ясно, что источникъ ихъ будетъ все тотъ же — нашъ. Намъ нужно, чтобы иногда, пока мы еще не въ полной власти, столицы оказывались окутанными провинціальнымъ мнѣніемъ народа, т. е. большинства, подстроеннаго нашими агентами. Намъ нужно, чтобы столицамъ въ психологическій моментъ не пришлось бы обсуждать свершившагося факта уже по одному тому, что онъ принятъ мнѣніемъ провинціальнаго большинства.

#### НЕПОГРЪШИМОСТЬ НОВАГО РЕЖИМА.

Когда мы будемъ въ періодѣ новаго режима, переходнаго къ нашему воцаренію, намъ нельзя допускать разоблаченій прессой общественной безчестности; надо, чтобы думали, что новый режимъ такъ всѣхъ удовлетворилъ, что даже преступность изсякла: Случаи проявленія преступности должны остаться въ вѣдѣніи ихъ жертвъ и случайныхъ свидѣтелей неболѣе.

away: Cases of crime should remain in the hands of their victims and random witnesses for the most
part.

- 12:6 "When such measures are implemented" [При выполненіи такихъ мѣръ]. The 1911 and 1923 versions read "With such measures" [При таких мерах].
- 12:6 The 1911 and 1923 versions have "setting its boundaries" [установівъ ея границы…]. The 1922 version omits "its" [установивъ границъ.].
- 12:15 Both the 1911 and 1922 versions have "as needed" [по мъръ надобности]. The 1923 version omits it.
- 12:15 The 1911 and 1923 versions end the sentence with "against the press." [противъ прессы.] The 1922 version omits it.
- 12:16 The 1911 and the 1923 versions have "ancient augurs" [древним авгурам]. The 1922 version omits "ancient" [древним].